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LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY,  
863 BROADWAY.

No. 36.

# Prophecy and Fulfillment.

SPEECH OF A. H. STEPHENS, OF GEORGIA,

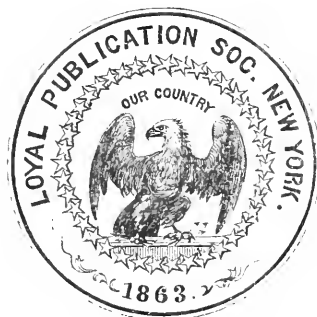
(VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE SO-CALLED CONFEDERATE STATES)

IN OPPOSITION TO SECESSION IN 1860.

ADDRESS OF E. W. GANTT, OF ARKANSAS,

(BRIGADIER-GENERAL IN THE CONFEDERATE ARMY)

IN FAVOR OF REUNION IN 1863.



New York:

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*The objects of the Society are expressed in the following Resolution,  
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first meeting, February 14, 1863.*

*Resolved, That the object of this Organization is, and shall be, confined to  
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tional loyalty throughout the United States, and particularly in the Armies  
now engaged in the suppression of the Rebellion, and to counteract, as far as  
practicable, the efforts now being made by the enemies of the Government  
and the advocates of a disgraceful peace to circulate journals and documents  
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863 BROADWAY.

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## PROPHECY AND FULFILLMENT.

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SPEECH OF A. H. STEPHENS, OF GEORGIA,

(Vice-President of so-called Confederate States)

IN OPPOSITION TO SECESSION.

DELIVERED NOVEMBER 14, 1860.

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FELLOW-CITIZENS :—I appear before you to-night, at the request of members of the Legislature and others, to speak of matters of the deepest interest that can possibly concern us all of an earthly character. There is nothing—no question or subject connected with this life—that concerns a free people so intimately as that of the Government under which they live. We are now, indeed, surrounded by evils. Never, since I entered upon the public stage, has the country been so environed with difficulties and dangers that threatened the public peace and the very existence of society as now. I do not now appear before you at my own instance. It is not to gratify desire of my own that I am here. Had I consulted my own ease and pleasure I should not be before you ; but, believing that it is the duty of every good citizen to give his counsels and views whenever the country is in danger, as to the best policy to be pursued, I am here. For these reasons, and these only, do I bespeak a calm, patient, and attentive hearing.

My object is not to stir up strife, but to allay it ; not to appeal to your passions, but to your reason. Good governments can never be built up or sustained by the impulse of passion. I wish to address myself to your good sense, to your good judgment, and if, after hearing, you disagree, let us agree to disagree, and part as we met, friends. We all have the same object, the same interest. That people should disagree in republican governments, upon questions of public policy, is natural. That men should disagree upon all matters connected with human investigation, whether relating to science or human conduct, is natural. Hence, in free governments, parties will arise. But a free people should express their different opinions with liberality and charity, with no acrimony toward those of their fellows, when honestly and sincerely given. These are my feelings to-night.

Let us, therefore, reason together. It is not my purpose to say aught to wound the feelings of any individual who may be present ; and if, in the ardency with which I shall express my opinions, I shall say any thing which may be deemed too strong, let it be set down to the zeal with which I advocate my own convictions. There is with me no intention to irritate or offend.

The first question that presents itself is, shall the people of the South secede from the Union in consequence of the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency of the United States? My countrymen, *I tell you frankly, candidly, and earnestly, that I do not think that they ought.* In my judgment, the election of no man, constitutionally chosen to that high office, is sufficient cause for any State to separate from the Union. It ought to stand by and aid still in maintaining the Constitution of the country. To make a point of resistance to the Government, to withdraw from it because a man has been constitutionally elected, puts us in the wrong. We are pledged to maintain the Constitution. Many of us have sworn to support it. Can we, therefore, for the mere election of a man to the Presidency, and that too in accordance with the prescribed forms of the Constitution, make a point of resistance to the Government without becoming the breakers of that sacred instrument ourselves—withdraw ourselves from it? Would we not be in the wrong? Whatever fate is to befall this country, let it never be laid to the charge of the people of the South, and especially to the people of Georgia, that we were untrue to our national engage-

ments. Let the fault and the wrong rest upon others. If all our hopes are to be blasted, if the Republic is to go down, let us be found to the last moment standing on the deck, with the Constitution of the United States waving over our heads. Let the fanatics of the North break the Constitution, if such is their fell purpose. Let the responsibility be upon them. I shall speak presently more of their acts; but let not the South—let us not be the ones to commit the aggression. We went into the election with this people. The result was different from what we wished; but the election has been constitutionally held. Were we to make a point of resistance to the Government and go out of the Union on that account, the record would be made up hereafter against us.

But it is said Mr. Lincoln's policy and principles are against the Constitution, and that if he carries them out it will be destructive of our rights. Let us not anticipate a threatened evil. If he violates the Constitution, then will come our time to act. Do not let us break it because, forsooth, he may. If he does, that is the time for us to strike. I think it would be injudicious and unwise to do this sooner. I do not anticipate that Mr. Lincoln will do any thing to jeopard our safety or security, whatever may be his spirit to do it; for he is bound by the constitutional checks which are thrown around him, which at this time render him powerless to do any great mischief. This shows the wisdom of our system. The President of the United States is no emperor, no dictator—he is clothed with no absolute power. He can do nothing unless he is backed by power in Congress. The House of Representatives is largely in the majority against him.

In the Senate he will also be powerless. There will be a majority of four against him. This, after the loss of Bigler, Fitch, and others, by the unfortunate dissensions of the National Democratic party in their States. Mr. Lincoln can not appoint an officer without the consent of the Senate—he can not form a cabinet without the same consent. He will be in the condition of George III. (the embodiment of Toryism), who had to ask the Whigs to appoint his ministers, and was compelled to receive a cabinet utterly opposed to his views; and so Mr. Lincoln will be compelled to ask of the Senate to choose for him a cabinet, if the Democracy of that body choose to put him on such terms. He will be com-

pelled to do this or let the Government stop, if the National Democratic men—for that is their name at the North—the conservative men in the Senate, should so determine. Then how can Mr. Lincoln obtain a cabinet which would aid him, or allow him to violate the Constitution ?

Why, then, I say, should we disrupt the ties of this Union when his hands are tied, when he can do nothing against us? I have heard it mooted that no man in the State of Georgia, who is true to her interests, could hold office under Mr. Lincoln. But, I ask, who appoints to office? Not the President alone; the Senate has to concur. No man can be appointed without the consent of the Senate. Should any man then refuse to hold office that was given to him by a Democratic Senate? [Mr. Toombs interrupted and said if the Senate was Democratic it was for Mr. Breckinridge.] Well, then, continued Mr. S., I apprehend no man could be justly considered untrue to the interests of Georgia, or incur any disgrace, if the interests of Georgia required it, to hold an office which a Breckinridge Senate had given him, even though Mr. Lincoln should be President.

I trust, my countrymen, you will be still and silent. I am addressing your good sense. I am giving you my views in a calm and dispassionate manner, and if any of you differ with me, you can, on any other occasion, give your views as I am doing now, and let reason and true patriotism decide between us. In my judgment, I say, under such circumstances, there would be no possible disgrace for a Southern man to hold office. No man will be suffered to be appointed, I have no doubt, who is not true to the Constitution, if Southern Senators are true to their trusts, as I can not permit myself to doubt that they will be.

My honorable friend who addressed you last night (Mr Toombs), and to whom I listened with the profoundest attention, asks if we would submit to Black Republican rule? I say to you and to him, as a Georgian, I never would submit to any Black Republican *aggression* upon our constitutional rights. I will never consent myself, as much as I admire this Union for the glories of the past, or the blessings of the present—as much as it has done for the people of all these States—as much as it has done for civilization—as much as the hopes of the world hang upon it, I would never submit to aggression upon my rights to maintain it longer; and



if they cannot be maintained in the Union, standing on the Georgia platform, where I have stood from the time of its adoption, I would be in favor of disrupting every tie which binds the States together.

I will have equality for Georgia and for the citizens of Georgia in this Union, or I will look for new safeguards elsewhere. This is my position. The only question now is, can they be secured in the Union? That is what I am counseling with you to-night about. Can it be secured? In my judgment it may be, but it may not be; but let us do all we can, so that in the future, if the worst come, it may never be said we were negligent in doing our duty to the last.

My countrymen, I am not of those who believe this Union has been a curse up to this time. True men, men of integrity, entertain different views from me on this subject. I do not question their right to do so: I would not impugn their motives in so doing. Nor will I undertake to say that this Government of our fathers is perfect. There is nothing perfect in this world of a human origin. Nothing connected with human nature, from man himself to any of his works. You may select the wisest and best men for your judges, and yet how many defects are there in the administration of justice? You may select the wisest and best men for your legislators, and yet how many defects are apparent in your laws? And it is so in our Government.

But that this Government of our fathers, with all its defects, comes nearer the objects of all good governments than any other on the face of the earth is my settled conviction. Contrast it now with any on the face of the earth. [England, said Mr. Toombs.]—England, my friend says. Well, that is the next best, I grant; but I think we have improved upon England. Statesmen tried their apprentice hand on the Government of England, and then ours was made. Ours sprung from that, avoiding many of its defects, taking most of the good and leaving out many of its errors, and from the whole constructing and building up this model Republic—the best which the history of the world gives any account of.

Compare, my friends, this Government with that of Spain, Mexico, the South American Republics, Germany, Ireland—are there any sons of that down-trodden nation here to night?—Prussia, or,

if you travel further east, to Turkey or China. Where will you go, following the sun in its circuit round our globe, to find a government that better protects the liberties of its people, and secures to them the blessings we enjoy? I think that one of the evils that beset us is a surfeit of liberty, an exuberance of the priceless blessings for which we are ungrateful. We listened to my honorable friend who addressed you last night (Mr. Toombs), as he recounted the evils of this Government.

The first was the fishing bounties, paid mostly to the sailors of New England. Our friend stated that forty-eight years of our Government was under the administration of Southern Presidents. Well, these fishing bounties began under the rule of a southern President, I believe. No one of them during the whole forty-eight years ever set his Administration against the principle or policy of them. It is not for me to say whether it was a wise policy in the beginning; it probably was not, and I have nothing to say in its defense. But the reason given for it was to encourage our young men to go to sea and learn to manage ships. We had at the time but a small navy. It was thought best to encourage a class of our people to become acquainted with seafaring life, to become sailors—to man our naval ships. It requires practice to walk the deck of a ship, to pull the ropes, to furl the sails, to go aloft, to climb the mast; and it was thought, by offering this bounty, a nursery might be formed in which young men would become perfected in these arts, and it applied to one section of the country as well as to any other.

The result of this was that in the war of 1812 our sailors, many of whom came from this nursery, were equal to any that England brought against us. At any rate, no small part of the glories of that war were gained by the veteran tars of America, and the object of these bounties was to foster that branch of the national defense. My opinion is, that whatever may have been the reason at first, this bounty ought to be discontinued—the reason for it, at first, no longer exists. A bill for this object did pass the Senate the last Congress I was in, to which my honorable friend contributed greatly, but it was not reached in the House of Representatives. I trust that he will yet see that he may with honor continue his connection with the Government, and that his eloquence, unrivaled in the Senate, may hereafter, as heretofore, be displayed

in having this bounty, so obnoxious to him, repealed and wiped off from the statute-book.

The next evil which my friend complained of was the Tariff. Well, let us look at that for a moment. About the time I commenced noticing public matters, this question was agitating the country almost as fearfully as the slave question now is. In 1832, when I was in college, South Carolina was ready to nullify or secede from the Union on this account. And what have we seen? The Tariff no longer distracts the public counsels. Reason has triumphed! The present Tariff was voted for by Massachusetts and South Carolina. The lion and the lamb lay down together—every man in the Senate and House from Massachusetts and South Carolina, I think, voted for it, as did my honorable friend himself. And if it be true, to use the figure of speech of my honorable friend, that every man in the North that works in iron and brass and wood has his muscle strengthened by the protection of the Government, that stimulant was given by his vote, and I believe every other Southern man. So we ought not to complain of that.

Mr. Toombs—The Tariff assessed the duties.

Mr. Stephens—Yes, and Massachusetts with unanimity voted with the South to lessen them, and they were made just as low as Southern men asked them to be, and that is the rates they are now at. If reason and argument, with experience, produced such changes in the sentiments of Massachusetts from 1832 to 1857, on the subject of the Tariff, may not like changes be effected there by the same means—reason and argument, and appeals to patriotism on the present vexed question? And who can say that by 1875 or 1890 Massachusetts may not vote with South Carolina and Georgia upon all those questions that now distract the country, and threaten its peace and existence. I believe in the power and efficiency of truth, in the omnipotence of truth, and its ultimate triumph when properly wielded.

Another matter of grievance alluded to by my honorable friend was the Navigation Laws. This policy was also commenced under the Administration of one of these Southern Presidents who ruled so well, and has been continued through all of them since. The gentleman's views of the policy of these laws and my own do not disagree. We occupied the same ground in relation to them in

Congress. It is not my purpose to defend them now. But it is proper to state some matters connected with their origin.

One of the objects was to build up a commercial American marine by giving American bottoms the exclusive carrying trade between our own ports. This is a great arm of national power. This object was accomplished. We have now an amount of shipping, not only coastwise, but to foreign countries, which puts us in the front rank of the nations of the world. England can no longer be styled the Mistress of the Seas. What American is not proud of the result? Whether those laws should be continued is another question. But one thing is certain: no President, Northern or Southern, has ever yet recommended their repeal. And my friend's efforts to get them repealed were met with but little favor, North or South.

These, then, were the true main grievances or grounds of complaint against the general system of our Government and its workings—I mean the administration of the Federal Government. As to the acts of the Federal States I shall speak presently; but these three were the main ones used against the common head. Now, suppose it be admitted that all of these are evils in the system; do they overbalance and outweigh the advantages and great good which this same government affords in a thousand innumerable ways that can not be estimated? Have we not at the South, as well as the North, grown great, prosperous, and happy under its operations? Has any part of the world ever shown such rapid progress in the development of wealth, and all the material resources of national power and greatness, as the Southern States have under the General Government, notwithstanding all its defects?

Mr. Toombs—In spite of it.

Mr. Stephens—My honorable friend says we have, in spite of the General Government; that without it, I suppose he thinks, we might have done as well, or perhaps better, than we have done this in spite of it. That may be and it may not be; but the great fact that we have grown great and powerful under the Government as it exists—there is no conjecture or speculation about that; it stands out bold, high, and prominent, like your Stone Mountain, to which the gentleman alluded in illustrating home facts in his record—this great fact of our unrivaled prosperity in the Union

as it is admitted ; whether all this is in spite of the Government—whether we of the South would have been better off without the Government—is, to say the least, problematical. On the one side we can only put the fact against speculation and conjecture on the other. But even as a question of speculation I differ with my distinguished friend.

What we would have lost in border wars without the Union, or what we have gained simply by the peace it has secured, no estimate can be made of. Our foreign trade, which is the foundation of all our prosperity, has the protection of the navy, which drove the pirates from the waters near our coast, where they had been buccaneering for centuries before, and might have been still had it not been for the American Navy under the command of such spirits as Commodore Porter. Now that the coast is clear, that our commerce flows freely outwardly, we can not well estimate how it would have been under other circumstances. The influence of the Government on us is like that of the atmosphere around us. Its benefits are so silent and unseen that they are seldom thought of or appreciated.

We seldom think of the single element of oxygen in the air we breathe, and yet let this simple, unseen, and unfelt agent be withdrawn, this life-giving element be taken away from this all-permeating fluid around us, and what instant and appalling changes would take place in all organic creation.

It may be that we are all that we are in "spite of the General Government," but it may be that without it we should have been far different from what we are now. It is true there is no equal part of the earth with natural resources superior perhaps to ours. That portion of this country known as the Southern States, stretching from the Chesapeake to the Rio Grande, is fully equal to the picture drawn by the honorable and eloquent Senator last night, in all natural capacities. But how many ages and centuries passed before these capacities were developed to reach this advanced age of civilization? There these same hills, rich in ore, same rivers, same valleys and plains, are as they have been since they came from the hand of the Creator; uneducated and uncivilized man roamed over them for how long no history informs us.

It was only under our institutions that they could be developed.

Their development is the result of the enterprise of our people under operations of the Government and institutions under which we have lived. Even our people, without these, never would have done it. The organization of society has much to do with the development of the natural resources of any country or any land. The institutions of a people, political and moral, are the matrix in which the germ of their organic structure quickens into life—takes root and develops in form, nature, and character. Our institutions constitute the basis, the matrix, from which spring all our characteristics of development and greatness. Look at Greece. There is the same fertile soil, the same blue sky, the same inlets and harbors, the same Ægean, the same Olympus; there is the same land where Homer sung, where Pericles spoke; it is in nature the same old Greece—but it is living Greece no more.

Descendants of the same people inhabit the country; yet what is the reason of this mighty difference? In the midst of present degradation we see the glorious fragments of ancient works of art—temples with ornaments and inscriptions that excite wonder and admiration—the remains of a once high order of civilization which have outlived the language they spoke—upon them all *Ichabod* is written—their glory has departed. Why is this so? I answer, their institutions have been destroyed. These were but the fruits of their forms of government, the matrix from which their grand development sprung, and when once the institutions of a people have been destroyed, there is no earthly power that can bring back the Promethean spark to kindle them here again, any more than in that ancient land of eloquence, poetry, and song.

The same may be said of Italy. Where is Rome, once the mistress of the world? There are the same seven hills now, the same soil, the same natural resources; nature is the same, but what a ruin of human greatness meets the eye of the traveler throughout the length and breadth of that most down-trodden land! Why have not the people of that Heaven-favored clime the spirit that animated their fathers? Why this sad difference?

It is the destruction of her institutions that has caused it; and, my countrymen, if we shall in an evil hour rashly pull down and destroy those institutions which the patriotic band of our fathers

labored so long and so hard to build up, and which have done so much for us and the world, who can venture the prediction that similar results will not ensue? Let us avoid it if we can. I trust the spirit is among us that will enable us to do it. Let us not rashly try the experiment, for, if it fails, as it did in Greece and Italy, and in the South American Republics, and in every other place wherever liberty is once destroyed, it may never be restored to us again.

There are defects in our government, errors in administration, and shortcomings of many kinds; but in spite of these defects and errors, Georgia has grown to be a great State. Let us pause here a moment. In 1850 there was a great crisis, but not so fearful as this; for, of all I have ever passed through, this is the most perilous, and requires to be met with the greatest calmness and deliberation.

There were many among us in 1850 zealous to go at once out of the Union, to disrupt every tie that binds us together. Now, do you believe, had that policy been carried out at that time, we would have been the same great people that we are to-day? It may be that we would, but have you any assurance of that fact? Would you have made the same advancement, improvement, and progress in all that constitutes material wealth and prosperity that we have.

I notice, in the Comptroller-General's report, that the taxable property of Georgia is \$670,000,000 and upward, an amount not far from double what it was in 1850. I think I may venture to say that for the last ten years the material wealth of the people of Georgia has been nearly if not quite doubled. The same may be said of our advance in education, and every thing that marks our civilization. Have we any assurance that, had we regarded the earnest but misguided patriotic advice, as I think, of some of that day, and disrupted the ties which bind us to the Union, we would have advanced as we have? I think not. Well, then, let us be careful now before we attempt any rash experiment of this sort. I know that there are friends—whose patriotism I do not intend to question—who think this Union a curse, and that we would be better off without it. I do not so think. If we can bring about a correction of those evils which threaten—and I am not without hope that this may yet be done—this appeal to go out,

with all the provisions for good that accompany it. I look upon it as a great and I fear a fatal temptation.

When I look around and see our prosperity in every thing, agriculture, commerce, art, science, and every department of education, physical and mental, as well as moral advancement, and our colleges, I think, in the face of such an exhibition, if we can, without the loss of power, or any essential right or interest, remain in the Union, it is our duty to ourselves and to posterity to—let us not too readily yield to this temptation—do so. Our first parents, the great progenitors of the human race, were not without a like temptation when in the garden of Eden. They were led to believe that their condition would be bettered—that their eyes would be opened—and that they would become as gods. They in an evil hour yielded—instead of becoming gods, they only saw their own nakedness.

I look upon this country with our institutions as the Eden of the world, the paradise of the universe. It may be that out of it we may become greater and more prosperous, but I am candid and sincere in telling you that I fear if we rashly evince passion, and without sufficient cause shall take that step, that instead of becoming greater or more peaceful, prosperous, and happy—instead of becoming gods, we will become demons, and at no distant day commence cutting one another's throats. This is my apprehension. Let us, therefore, whatever we do, meet these difficulties, great as they are, like wise and sensible men, and consider them in the light of all the consequences which may attend our action. Let us see first clearly where the path of duty leads, and then we may not fear to tread therein.

I come now to the main question put to me, and on which my counsel has been asked. That is, what the present Legislature should do in view of the dangers that threaten us, and the wrongs that have been done us by several of our Confederate States in the Union, by the acts of their legislatures nullifying the fugitive slave law, and in direct disregard of their constitutional obligations. What I shall say will not be in the spirit of dictation: it will be simply my own judgment for what it is worth. It proceeds from a strong conviction that according to it our rights, interests, and honor—our present safety and future security can be maintained without yet looking to the last resort, the "*ultima re-*



*tio regum.*" That should not be looked to until all else fails. That may come. On this point I am hopeful, but not sanguine. But let us use every patriotic effort to prevent it while there is ground for hope.

If any view that I may present, in your judgment, be inconsistent with the best interests of Georgia, I ask you, as patriots, not to regard it. After hearing me and others whom you have advised with, act in the premises according to your own conviction of duty as patriots. I speak now particularly to the members of the legislature present. There are, as I have said, great dangers ahead. Great dangers may come from the election I have spoken of. If the policy of Mr. Lincoln and his Republican associates shall be carried out, or attempted to be carried out, no man in Georgia will be more willing or ready than myself to defend our rights, interest, and honor at every hazard and to the last extremity.

What is this policy? It is, in the first place, to exclude us, by an act of Congress, from the Territories with our slave property. He is for using the power of the General Government against the extension of our institutions. Our position on this point is and ought to be, at all hazards, for perfect equality between all the States, and the citizens of all the States, in the Territories, under the Constitution of the United States. If Congress should exercise its power against this, then I am for standing where Georgia planted herself in 1850. These were plain propositions which were then laid down in her celebrated platform as sufficient for the disruption of the Union if the occasion should ever come; on these Georgia has declared that she will go out of the Union; and for these she would be justified by the nations of the earth in so doing.

I say the same; I said it then; I say it now, if Mr. Lincoln's policy should be carried out. I have told you that I do not think his bare election sufficient cause: but if his policy should be carried out in violation of any of the principles set forth in the Georgia platform, that would be such an act of aggression which ought to be met as therein provided for. If his policy shall be carried out in repealing or modifying the Fugitive Slave law so as to weaken its efficacy, Georgia has declared that she will, in the last resort, disrupt the ties of the Union, and I say so too. I

stand upon the Georgia platform, and upon every plank, and say, if these aggressions therein provided for take place—I say to you and to the people of Georgia, keep your powder dry, and let your assailants then have lead, if need be. I would wait for an act of aggression. This is my position.

Now upon another point, and that the most difficult and deserving your most serious consideration, I will speak. That is the course which this State should pursue toward these Northern States, which by their legislative acts have attempted to nullify the Fugitive Slave law. I know that in some of these States their acts pretend to be based upon the principles set forth in the case of *PRIGG* against Pennsylvania; that decision did proclaim the doctrine that the State officers are not bound to carry out the provisions of a law of Congress—that the Federal Government can not impose duties upon State officials—that they must execute their own laws by their own officers. And this may be true. But still it is the duty of the States to deliver fugitive slaves, as well as the duty of the General Government to see that it is done.

Northern States, on entering into the Federal compact, pledged themselves to surrender such fugitives; and it is in disregard of their obligations that they had passed laws which even tend to hinder or obstruct the fulfillment of that obligation. They have violated their plighted faith; what ought we to do in view of this? That is the question. What is to be done? By the law of nations you would have a right to demand the carrying out of this article of agreement, and I do not see that it should be otherwise with respect to the States of this Union; and, in case it be not done, we would, by these principles, have the right to commit acts of reprisal on these faithless governments, and seize upon their property, or that of their citizens, wherever found. The States of this Union stand upon the same footing with foreign nations in this respect. But, by the law of nations, we are equally bound, before proceeding to violent measures, to set forth our grievances before the offending Government, to give them an opportunity to redress the wrong. Has our State yet done this? I think not.

Suppose it was Great Britain that had violated some compact of agreement with the General Government, what would be first done? In that case our Minister would be directed, in the first

instance, to bring the matter to the attention of that Government, or a Commissioner be sent to that country to open negotiations with her, ask for redress, and it would only be when argument and reason had been exhausted, that we should take the last resort of nations. That would be the course toward a foreign government, and toward a member of this Confederacy I would recommend the same course.

Let us, therefore, not act hastily in this matter. Let your Committee on the State of the Republic make out a bill of grievances; let it be sent by the Governor to those faithless States, and if reason and argument shall be tried in vain—all shall fail to induce them to return to their constitutional obligations—I would be for retaliatory measures, such as the Governor has suggested to you. This mode of resistance in the Union is in our power. It might be effectual, and, if in the last resort, we would be justified in the eyes of nations, not only in separating from them, but by using force.

[Some one said the argument was already exhausted.]

Mr. Stephens continued—Some friend says that the argument is already exhausted. No, my friend, it is not. You have never called the attention of the Legislatures of those States to this subject, that I am aware of. Nothing has ever been done before this year. The attention of our own people has been called to this subject lately.

Now, then, my recommendation to you would be this: In view of all these questions of difficulty, let a convention of the people of Georgia be called, to which they may be all referred. Let the sovereignty of the people speak. Some think that the election of Mr. Lincoln is cause sufficient to dissolve the Union. Some think those other grievances are sufficient to dissolve the same, and that the Legislature has the power thus to act, and ought thus to act. I have no hesitancy in saying that the Legislature is not the proper body to sever our Federal relations, if that necessity should arise. An honorable and distinguished gentleman, the other night (Mr. T. R. R. Cobb), advised you to take this course—not to wait to hear from from the cross-roads and groceries. I say to you, you have no power so to act. You must refer this question to the people, and you must wait to hear from the men at the cross-roads and even the groceries; for the people in this country, whether at

the cross-roads or the groceries, whether in cottages or palaces, are all equal, and they are the sovereigns in this country. Sovereignty is not in the Legislature. We, the people, are the sovereigns. I am one of them and have a right to be heard, and so has any other citizen of the State. You, legislators—I speak it respectfully—are but our servants. You are the servants of the people, and not their masters. Power resides with the people in this country.

The great difference between our country and all others, such as France and England and Ireland, is, that here there is popular sovereignty, while there sovereignty is exercised by kings and favored classes. This principle of popular sovereignty, however much derided lately, is the foundation of our institutions. Constitutions are but the channels through which the popular will may be expressed. Our Constitution came from the people. They made it, and they alone can rightfully unmake it.

Mr. Toombs—I am afraid of conventions.

Mr. Stephens—I am not afraid of any convention legally chosen by the people. I know no way to decide great questions affecting fundamental laws except by representatives of the people. The Constitution of the United States was made by the representatives of the people. The Constitution of the State of Georgia was made by representatives of the people chosen at the ballot-box. But do not let the question which comes before the people be put to them in the language of my honorable friend who addressed you last night. Will you submit to abolition rule or resist?

Mr. Toombs—I do not wish the people to be cheated.

Mr. Stephens—Now, my friends, how are we going to cheat the people by calling on them to elect delegates to a convention to decide all these questions without any dictation or direction? Who proposes to cheat the people by letting them speak their own untrammelled views in the choice of their ablest and best men, to determine upon all these matters involving their peace.

I think the proposition of my honorable friend had a considerable smack of unfairness, not to say cheat. He wished to have no convention, but for the Legislature to submit their vote to the people—submission to abolition rule or resistance? Now who, in Georgia, would vote “submission to abolition rule”?

Is putting such a question to the people to vote on a fair way of getting an expression of the popular will on all these questions? I think not. Now, who in Georgia is going to submit to abolition rule?

Mr. Toombs—The convention will.

Mr. Stephens—No, my friend, Georgia will never do it. The convention will never secede from the Georgia Platform. Under that there can be no abolition rule in the General Government. I am not afraid to trust the people in convention upon this and all questions. Besides, the Legislature were not elected for such a purpose. They came here to do their duty as legislators. They have sworn to support the Constitution of the United States. They did not come here to disrupt this Government. I am therefore for submitting all these questions to a convention of the people. Submit the question to the people, whether they would submit to an abolition rule or resist, and then let the Legislature act upon that vote? Such a course would be an insult to the people. They would have to eat their platform, ignore their past history, blot out their records, and take steps backward, if they should do this. I have never eaten my record or words, and never will.

But how will it be under this arrangement if they should vote to resist, and the Legislature should reassemble with this vote as their instruction? Can any man tell what sort of resistance will be meant? One man would say secede; another pass retaliatory measures; these are measures of resistance against wrong—legitimate and right—and there would be as many different ideas as there are members on this floor. Resistance don't mean secession—that, in no proper sense of the term, is resistance. Believing that the times require action, I am for presenting the question fairly to the people, for calling together an untrammelled convention, and presenting all the questions to them whether they will go out of the Union, or what course of resistance in the Union they may think best, and then let the Legislature act, when the people in their majesty are heard; and I tell you now, whatever that convention does, I hope and trust our people will abide by. I advise the calling of a convention with the earnest desire to preserve the peace and harmony of the State. I should dislike, above all things, to see violent measures adopted, or a disposition to

take the sword in hand, by individuals, without the authority of law.

My honorable friend said last night, "I ask you to give me the sword, for if you do not give it to me, as God lives, I will take it myself."

Mr. Toombs—I will.

Mr. Stephens—I have no doubt that my honorable friend feels as he says. It is only his excessive ardor that makes him use such an expression; but this will pass off with the excitement of the hour. When the people in their majesty shall speak, I have no doubt that he will bow to their will, whatever it may be upon the "sober second thought."

Should Georgia determine to go out of the Union—I speak for one, though my views might not agree with them—whatever the result may be, I shall bow to the will of her people. Their cause is my cause, and their destiny is my destiny; and I trust this will be the ultimate course of all. The greatest curse that can befall a free people is civil war.

But, as I said, let us call a convention of the people; let all these matters be submitted to it, and when the will of a majority of the people has thus been expressed, the whole State will present one unanimous voice in favor of whatever may be demanded; for I believe in the power of the people to govern themselves, when wisdom prevails and passion is silent.

Look at what has already been done by them for their advancement in all that embles man. There is nothing like it in the history of the world. Look abroad from one extent of the country to the other—contemplate our greatness. We are now among the first nations of the earth. Shall it be said, then, that our institutions, founded upon principles of self-government, are a failure?

Thus far it is a noble example, worthy of imitation. The gentleman, Mr. Cobb, the other night said it had proven a failure. A failure in what? In growth? Look at our expanse in national power. Look at our population and increase in all that makes a people great. A failure? Why, we are the admiration of the civilized world, and present the brightest hopes of mankind.

Some of our public men have failed in their aspirations; that is true, and from that comes a great part of our troubles.

No, there is no failure of this Government yet. We have made great advancement under the Constitution, and I can not but hope that we shall advance higher still. Let us be true to our cause.

Now, when this convention assembles, if it shall be called, as I hope it may, I would say in my judgment, without dictation, for I am conferring with you freely and frankly, and it is thus that I give my views, I should take into consideration all those questions which distract the public mind; should view all the grounds of secession so far as the election of Mr. Lincoln is concerned, and I have no doubt they would say that the constitutional election of no man is a sufficient cause to break up the Union, but that the State should wait until he at least does some unconstitutional act.

Mr. Toombs—Commit some overt act.

Mr. Stephens—No, I did not say that. The word overt is a sort of technical term connected with treason, which has come to us from the mother country, and it means an open act of rebellion. I do not see how Mr. Lincoln can do this unless he should levy war upon us. I do not therefore use the word overt. I do not intend to wait for that. But I use the word unconstitutional act, which our people understand much better, and which expresses just what I mean. But as long as he conforms to the Constitution, he should be left to exercise the duties of his office.

In giving this advice I am but sustaining the Constitution of my country, and I do not thereby become a Lincoln aid man either but a Constitutional aid man. But this matter the convention can determine.

As to the other matter, I think we have a right to pass retaliatory measures, provided they be in accordance with the Constitution of the United States, and I think they can be made such. But whether it would be wise for this Legislature to do this now is the question. To the convention, in my judgment, this matter ought to be referred. Before we commit reprisals on New England we should exhaust every means of bringing about a peaceful solution of the question.

Thus did Gen. Jackson in the case of the French. He did not recommend reprisals until he had treated with France, and got her to promise to make indemnification, and it was only on her refusal to pay the money which she had promised that he recom-

mended reprisals. It was after negotiation had failed. I do think, therefore, that it would be best, before going to extreme measures with our Confederate States, to make a presentation of our demands, to appeal to their reason and judgment to give us our rights. Then, if reason should not triumph, it will be time enough to commit reprisals, and we should be justified in the eyes of a civilized world. At least, let the States know what your grievances are, and if they refuse, as I said, to give us our rights under the Constitution of our country, I should be willing, as a last resort, to sever the ties of this Union.

My own opinion is, that if this course be pursued, and they are informed of the consequences of refusal, these States will secede ; but if they should not, then let the consequences be with them, and let the responsibility of the consequences rest upon them. Another thing I would have that convention to do. Re-affirm the Georgia platform with an additional plank in it. Let that plank be the fulfillment of the obligation on the part of those States to repeal these obnoxious laws as a condition of our remaining in the Union. Give them time to consider it, and I would ask all States south to do the same thing.

I am for exhausting all that patriotism can demand before taking the last step. I would invite, therefore, South Carolina to a conference. I would ask the same of all the other Southern States, so that if the evil has got beyond our control, which God, in his mercy, grant may not be the case, let us not be divided, among ourselves, but, if possible, secure the united co-operation of all the Southern States ; and then, in the face of the civilized world, we may justify our action ; and, with the wrong all on the other side, we can appeal to the God of battles to aid us in our cause. But let us not do any thing in which any portion of our people may charge us with rash or hasty action. It is certainly a matter of great importance to tear this Government asunder. You were not sent here for that purpose. I would wish the whole South to be united if this is to be done ; and I believe, if we pursue the policy which I have indicated, this can be effected.

In this way our sister Southern States can be induced to act with us, and I have but little doubt that the States of New York, and Pennsylvania, and Ohio, and the other Western States, will



compel their Legislatures to recede from their hostile attitudes if the others do not. Then with these we would go on without New England if she chose to stay out.

A voice in the assembly—We will kick them out.

Mr. Stephens—I would not kick them out. But if they chose to stay out, they might. I think, moreover, that these Northern States, being principally engaged in manufactures, would find that they had as much interest in the Union under the Constitution as we, and that they would return to their constitutional duty—this would be my hope. If they should not, and if the Middle States and Western States do not join us, we should at least have an undivided South. I am, as you clearly perceive, for maintaining the Union as it is, if possible. I will exhaust every means thus to maintain it with an equality in it. My principles are these :

First, the maintenance of the honor, the rights, the equality, the security, and the glory of my native State in the Union ; but if these can not be maintained in the Union, then I am for their maintenance, at all hazards, out of it. Next to the honor and glory of Georgia, the land of my birth, I hold the honor and glory of our common country. In Savannah I was made to say, by the reporters—who very often make me say things which I never did say—that I was first for the glory of the whole country, and next for that of Georgia.

I said the exact reverse of this. I am proud of her history, of her present standing. I am proud even of her motto, which I would have duly respected at the present time by all her sons—Wisdom, Justice, and Moderation. I would have her rights and that of the Southern States maintained now upon these principles. Her position now is just what it was in 1850, with respect to the Southern States. Her platform then has been adopted by most, if not all, the other Southern States. Now I would add but one additional plank to that platform, which I have stated, and one which time has shown to be necessary.

If all this fails, we shall at least have the satisfaction of knowing that we have done our duty and all that patriotism could require.



# ADDRESS OF E. W. GANTT, OF ARKANSAS,

(Brigadier-General in the Confederate Army)

## IN FAVOR OF RE-UNION IN 1863.

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FELLOW-CITIZENS :—Since the third day of June I have been a prisoner in the Federal lines.

Having but recently been through the entire South—having studied its resources, and wept over its ruin, and having become fully acquainted with its condition, and the character of its rulers, I have chosen, after long hesitation, to remain here and address you, in preference to being sent home and exchanged. I am now out of the service, and can therefore speak with unreserved freedom

My course in this struggle is known to this country. In the army and in prison, with a fire in front and in rear, I have been with you and of you so long as hope remained. And to-day I know no devotion so strong as that I bear to my Southern home, and to the masses of our people, whose terrible sufferings bind me closer to them now than ever.

I shall give you my views and counsel for what they are worth, frankly and fully in this address, and care not for the consequences to myself. It is the path of duty, and I shall follow it fearlessly.

I shall speak to you as an Arkansian—shall therefore confine myself more particularly to what has occurred in our midst since the commencement of hostilities, and may thus give a prominence, to events and persons, that they would not otherwise deserve. As I fear no one, I shall spare no one.

In the commencement of this unfortunate struggle our State hesitated ; but when the shock of arms came, she opened her treasury and poured out her best blood. Her troops were removed beyond

the Mississippi River, upon the principle that there was the place to defend her soil. We acquiesced. The principle was doubtless correct. For a time all things went well enough with us. We were only annoyed by partisan feuds and broils—by that selfish faction which so long ruled our people and left their debasing influences upon society.

But the poisoned cup had been prepared for us in the very beginning. We were destined to drain its dregs to the bottom. Our people, plundered, whipped, and oppressed, were to bow their necks to the yoke of a political adventurer, clothed in lace and brass buttons, who owed all he was to their kindness and charity. Hindman and the Johnsons—names inseparably linked with the sorrow and ruin of our people—formed a coalition and drew into it the cast-off-scum of all parties. From that day may date the ruin of our people, if not of our whole cause. Not that I intend attributing to them great force or capacity, but that circumstances of long ago, linking Hindman to Davis, and intrigue upon the part of Johnson, were to place Hindman on a larger wave than a craft of his size could ride securely. So bitter and rancorous had been the hatred of these men toward each other, that such a union, if made publicly, would have shocked and startled our people. But it was done by stealth. It leaked out by degrees.

The promotion of Captain J. B. Johnson, brother of Robert W. Johnson, in Hindman's Legion, at Hindman's instance—the urging of Hindman's promotion by Mr. Johnson in the secret and corrupt ante-chambers of Richmond politics—the appointment of Mr. Johnson's near relative on Hindman's staff—the urging of Hindman's further promotion—and, stronger and stranger than all, the procuring, by a trick of Mr. Johnson's, of the transfer of General Hindman to this Department, are emulative evidences of this corrupt bargain—a bargain in which the blood and treasure of our people were to go to enrich the Johnsons. Hindman was to be transferred to this Department, and by his aid a great party was to be built up in our midst, and the enemies of the Johnsons put down. Having for years used the public treasure to put down foes and build up parties, now the blood of the people is to be used for the same purpose.

Mr. Davis was eager to do any thing for Hindman—would

scruple little about the means or the result to the people ; yet, in this instance, he hesitated. Mr. Johnson assured him that our people wanted Hindman here. That he was the man for the occasion. But with all this, Mr. Davis would not send him by " authority" ; yet, would permit him to be smuggled across. Our people were amazed at his advent. More so when they found that Mr. Johnson had brought him, and that the press at Little Rock, heretofore his abusers, was subservient to him. It was voiceless so far as Hindman's usurpations and oppressions might be. No other reason has ever yet been given for its mysterious silence than the prompt appointment, by Hindman, to positions of influence, of near relatives of the editors of these papers. And so the plot thickens.

In all the instances of appointees referred to in this address, I do not intend accusing them of complicity with the leaders, and may as well say so here.

When Hindman came here we had no army on our soil—nor indeed any hostile army threatening us. [This needs modification. But the threat had passed before the army was organized.] The policy of the Confederate authorities had been announced. It was that no more regiments should be organized, but that all men liable to military duty should be enrolled in regiments then existing. This policy was in the way of Hindman's building up, for himself and the Johnsons, a great array of satellites, by the " appointing power." Therefore, in the teeth of this policy, and disregarding authority, he organized and officered some forty regiments. The poor soldier could not choose his own officer. He might not choose what would be regarded as Johnson-Hindman material. But the creation and continued existence of an officer, as such, depended upon Hindman's breath alone. It remained now to be seen what one, who had crawled in the dirt before the people, when he wanted place, would do when he held supreme power.

Among the first acts was to declare martial law all over the State, and to appoint patrols of ten, with a captain, in each township—a new military organization of his own creation. Among their duties was to assist in arresting and imprisoning, without charge or complaint, the suspected freemen of Arkansas. And many a poor creature, thus torn from home and family, died in a loathsome prison, or perished by the wayside. Would you believe

it, my fellow-citizens, that two or three lines from Hindman or one of his subordinates has been all the commitment upon which respectable citizens, with their heads shorn, have lingered a year in the penitentiary, treated as ordinary convicts? The records are in the city of Little Rock.

But this is not all. He plundered our people most mercilessly. Anarchy and despotism vied in their reign. His Commissary Department was so miserably managed that, with an abundant country to draw and collect supplies from, it was so neglected, that, I am told, in many instances he took bread from the mouths of helpless women and children, whose only stay and support had perished by disease or the bayonet. He assumed to regulate prices. By this arbitrary and tyrannical means he caused great suffering, and afforded increased facilities for the growth of fraud and crime, while all honest men were well nigh impoverished. He ordered cotton to be burned in regions remote from navigation, and where an army will never tread, and where, if it should come, it could not more than transport supplies, much less haul cotton. And he sent brutal, rough men to execute these orders. If a citizen complained, he was snubbed, plundered, or imprisoned. Oftener all of these things. Of all these things Jeff. Davis was duly informed.

When long absence and tales of distress, coming from the plundered homes of toil-worn soldiers, impelled them, from impulses not to be despised, to force their way home, to stop the cries of suffering babes and soothe the sorrows of heart-broken wives, with the intention of again returning to their command, he has not waited their return, but treated them as deserters, had them hunted with negro dogs, and when caught, executed with a fiendishness alike cruel and shocking to humanity.

He has, I am told, appointed military commissions which should keep no records, and from their midnight recesses spoken away the lives of citizen and soldier. In one instance this mysterious and worse than Jesuitical tribunal condemned, to six months' imprisonment, a citizen of our State. With a stroke of his pen he raised the penalty to capital punishment, and the victim was accordingly executed. What the supposed offender did, what he was accused of doing, there is no written record left. Voltaire says that in Africa, tyrants who execute with their own hands criminals condemned to death, are justly called barbarians. He would be puzzled for a name for the tyrant in this instance.

In other cases he is said to have caused men to be executed without trial, and even to have witnessed their execution. In others, again, he is said to have seized citizens and put them upon trial before military tribunals, and had them executed. In one instance, the offense being Unionism, it was ascertained, after trial and sentence, that the supposed offender was a good Southern man. A pardon from Hindman was started, but the bearer only reached there in time to see the lifeless form of the murdered man being borne from the desecrated spot of his execution. Of all these things Jefferson Davis was duly informed.

The story of the two young Texas soldiers I have often heard, and never heard it contradicted. They were twin brothers— young, handsome, and sprightly. Having just entered the service, and from a State noted for its peculiar ideas of personal freedom, they supposed that a few days' absence from camp without leave would subject them to nothing more than a slight camp punishment. And having relatives a few miles in the country, whom they had not seen for years, they concluded to visit them. Poor fellows! Hindman was fresh from Bragg! They were hunted down, summarily tried, convicted, and the sentence approved in one day. The young men, in person, urged their youth and inexperience as an excuse, and begged him to let them live, assuring him they would show him, if spared, what soldiers they could make. Their gray-haired sire, bearing about his person the marks of wounds received at the Alamo and upon the battle-fields of Mexico, with breaking heart bowed before him and craved pardon for his thoughtless and innocent boys. And women, struck with their youth and innocence, with tears and entreaties implored mercy for the unfortunate youths. But in vain. The tyrant was inexorable. The noble youths fell, after a tender and touching farewell, victims to the ambition of one who was misled by the cruelty of Bragg, and who, in adopting the latter's style of discipline, took up the club of Hercules, and so, not being able to wield it, degenerated into a mere murderer.

He turned the Indians against us—thus leaving us defenseless, and threatened by a savage foe in the West, besides the loss of that whole territory. There was but one man on the continent who could control them. Nature, education, habits, and appearance, had peculiarly fitted him for the task. That man was Gen.

Albert Pike. He should have been permitted to remain there. Hindman and Johnson intrigued him out. Mr. Davis preferred risking the loss of that country, and our ruin, to the loss of his pet. He even permitted General Pike to be dragged through the country, like a common culprit, between a file of soldiers! What hope had a poor down-trodden citizen, when a general officer, and he one of the first men of the nation, could be thus treated with impunity at the instance of one of Davis' creatures? Of all these things Jefferson Davis was informed.

But our people, in the soreness of their agony, and from the depths of their oppression, petitioned Mr. Davis for relief. Month after month rolled by and no response. Still, month after month they groaned, and suffered, and supplicated. Their appeals for relief fell upon leaden ears. And while the people suffered, the Johnsons and Hindmans feasted and flourished, and were glad. But at last the current of agony and complaint was too great. The tardy response came. And what, oh, my suffering countrymen, do you suppose that response is? It is that "Hindman is there without authority." What a terrible retribution we had a right to expect. The least we could hope—had his acts been done by one here by authority—would be that he would meet removal and prompt punishment—and surely, that one who, here, "without authority," had robbed, pillaged, and destroyed—oppressed and murdered, and crushed the very life out of our people, would be put upon his trial as a culprit, and meet a felon's doom. We shall see.

In amazement, you would ask me if Mr. Davis knew of these things. All of them. Besides what private citizens all over the State had written him, General Pike, in written charges and in powerful published pamphlets, made most of it known to him and the world. But R. W. Johnson and his followers are supreme at Richmond. He owns the whole representation from this State, except Mr. Garland, who has all the sense and manliness of the concern. Verily, the "vessel of State must have been violently agitated, or such foul dregs could never have risen to the top!"

One Hanly did venture to whisper in his own room, with locked doors, to a few citizens, about these outrages; but he locked their mouths with a pledge of secrecy before they left, lest "Bob Johnson" should think he had turned traitor to him. And poor old



Mitchel would talk so much on both sides, that, as usual, he neutralized what he said, while Mr. Garland's utterances were stifled between affection on the part of Davis for Hindman, and subserviency to Mr. Johnson. The latter gentleman will not desert Hindman yet. The harvest of place and power reaped by them is too great to lose. Better the people groan and suffer. So, after all his wickedness, Hindman is still to remain here. But to soothe the public, and blind it, a new man must be brought over—one they can use, of course. Mr. Johnson finds him—a weak, superannuated old creature, who was made “Lieutenant-General Holmes” for this express command—the interests of Arkansas being subordinated to that of the Johnsons, and to the hate of Mr. Davis—for our poor oppressed people demanded General Price—or rather, begged for him piteously, our days for “demanding” having passed.

The acts of this poor, unfortunate, and pitiable old man are known to all. Our people breathed free for a moment after he came—for, the press here belonging to the coalition, he was eulogized excessively. But they soon saw the stroke of Hindman's hand in all his acts. As General Pike justly remarks, his lieutenant became his master. Holmes revoked none of Hindman's odious orders, and the terrible scenes of oppression and plunder went on as before.

With all this our people were still willing to suffer and to bleed, if any military results favorable to us might flow from it. Our hopes were disappointed. Military affairs were neglected. Johnson and Hindman were intent on keeping up political prestige, and even induced poor old General Holmes to use the influence of his rank and gold lace upon weak members of the Legislature in the election for Confederate Senator. Thus the time was passed in feasting and dancing, and political wire-working, while the poor soldier shivered under the bleak sky, and the poor citizen groaned under oppression and wrong, and trembled lest the last morsel should at any moment be taken from his helpless family.

General Holmes had no plan of campaign, no conception of his duties, and not manliness and honesty enough to give way to a better.

While this state of affairs existed I addressed a letter to Mr. Davis, as follows :

"SIR, if something is not done for Arkansas, we are ruined. Our people have been terribly oppressed. They are yet. They need relief. They want General Price. Send him, and he will winter in Missouri with sixty thousand men. If you don't, this Department is gone, and Arkansas must and will seek protection elsewhere.

"General Holmes has no plan of campaign. Hindman is in the North-west, with some fifteen thousand men. But the centre, under Roane and a few other stupid political appointees of Hon. R. W. Johnson, is too far off to support him. The centre, in turn, can not be supported by the right under Hindman, or the left, under Churchill, at Arkansas Post—while the latter place, if attacked, can not be supported, and must fall. Besides, General C., although a good soldier, is, in my opinion, incompetent to the command. I speak of these things as against offensive movements upon the part of the enemy. As for offensive movements upon our part, General Holmes has undertaken none. Nor does he even contemplate it. If our troops remain here, they ought to go into Missouri at once.

"But, as I said in my last letter, all the soldiers on this side the river, except about five thousand mounted men, to keep out marauding bands, ought to be sent across the Mississippi River, for every man sent from this side the river forces the Federals to send one to meet him. Thus Arkansas would be relieved of a friendly and hostile army both. Then, holding Vicksburgh and its approaches, in the meantime, and our people being left free to sow and reap in peace, we can supply the whole army on the east side of the river. But, by all means, send Price here, and let him go into Missouri. He would be received with the wildest enthusiasm. If he is not sent, we are ruined.

"I know that certain politicians from our State talk differently. They either don't know what they talk about, or are subserving some selfish ends at the cost of the people. I know that I have long been the victim of petty partisan intrigue there; but, as having been the chosen representative of half the people of Arkansas in the Federal Congress, and as that verdict has never been set aside by them, I have the right to speak, and do, in their name and behalf, most solemnly urge these views upon you. I beseech you not to listen alone to politicians, who, repudiated

and kicked out of power in 1860, were so unmanly as to crawl back into like places when the country was in arms. I beseech you not to let their selfishness be our ruin. While I would scorn to ask this for myself, I can do so cheerfully for my people.

"This letter, for the present, I desire should be considered as private and confidential. Your obedient servant,

" E. W. GANTT.

" His Excellency JEFFERSON DAVIS."

My appeals did not even elicit a response. Time wore on. My predictions proved true. Hindman was defeated at Prairie Grove. His shattered columns, over snow and ice, half clad and half fed, wound their toilsome way back to Little Rock. About five thousand went home by force. Churchill was attacked at Arkansas Post; but, being cut off from the hope of succor, the place was surrendered after a feeble resistance. Mr. Davis had been warned time and again of these dangers. But Hindman was his pet and protégé. Sending Price would interfere with Hindman, and would likewise give opportunity for distinction to a man he hated. This noble and good old man, who is a statesman and a soldier, has been meanly and malignantly disparaged and oppressed by Mr. Davis since the commencement of the war.

Our people, after these reverses, were more disheartened than ever. They clamored for Hindman's removal and trial. General Pike preferred the charges, and went to Richmond in person to prosecute them. But Mr. Davis smuggled Hindman back on the other side of the river, and gave him the dignified and appropriate position of president of a court of inquiry, to investigate the conduct of one other pet of his, General Mansfield Lovell, who so ingloriously surrendered New Orleans—commencing in Louisiana what Hindman completed in Arkansas. But, as if to add insult to injury, Mr. Davis at last "indorses" openly the acts of Hindman, and, to add to your shame and humiliation, gives him command of a division in Bragg's army. Humanity stands appalled, and reason aghast, at such acts of perfidy, baseness, and cruelty.

Oh, my countrymen, your suffering has been indescribable—inconceivable! We thought we were fighting for constitutional liberty, when a tyrant was most mercilessly treading that constitution

under his feet by every act of outrage and oppression that a conquered people can feel. And, after nearly two years of strife, we awoken, from a fearful baptism of blood, to the terrible truth that the shadow of the despotism which we fled from, under Mr. Lincoln, dissolves into nothingness compared to the awful reign of tyranny that we have groaned under at the hands of Jefferson Davis and his minions. Will we profit by such awakening? It remains to be seen.

The army that Hindman raised and officered here, against authority, and "without authority," has, by disease, death, and desertion, dwindled to a mere handful of men. The same material, if it had never been thus organized, or if, after organization, it had been sent to Bragg as he entered Kentucky, would have enabled him to be on the Ohio line to-day. It certainly could have held Vicksburgh and its approaches, if assigned to that duty. Hence I said, in the early part of this address, that not only the ruin of our State, but of our cause, might be attributed to Hindman and the Johnsons. The forty thousand men sacrificed to their ambition could have turned the scale in any State—any Department.

But with all our sufferings and sorrows, we had hopes of success and better things while Vicksburgh held out. But Mr. Davis had a pet appointee here. His narrow stubbornness and great vanity would not permit him to remove Pemberton, because such removal would be an admission that Mr. Davis was wrong. Rather the people suffer than such admission. Pemberton was a bad appointment—clearly incompetent. Possessing the confidence of neither citizen nor soldier, and Mr. Davis cognizant of it, he was still retained in command. He lost Vicksburgh. In his Department were sixty thousand troops when General Grant undertook the bold and hazardous plan of running our batteries at Vicksburgh, and marching inland, with less than fifty thousand men for duty.

Contrary to all military science and experience, Pemberton scatters instead of massing his forces. He leaves a weakened force, at Port Hudson, flanked on both sides—reduces the garrison at Vicksburgh, and leaves small forces at Raymond, Grand Gulf, Jackson, Yazoo City, and other points away up in Mississippi. General Grant was thus enabled, with his columns massed, to whip him in detail.

After the repulse at Grand Gulf—which forty thousand men on the defensive could have prevented, and which were in Pemberton's Department—and the flight from Raymond, General Joe Johnston was sent to assume command. That noble officer, despised by Davis, and not even spoken to by that mercenary wretch, Benjamin—who controls, by indirection Davis and Cabinet—cheerfully repaired to Jackson. Arrived there, he is said to have shed tears over the hopelessness of affairs and the splendid opportunity lost. You are familiar with the rest—our appalling loss at Edward's Depot, and the fall of Vicksburgh and Port Hudson with their brave defenders. Thus, with the loss of friends and relatives, came the blighting of your last hopes. And all to gratify the narrow obstinacy, mean selfishness, and personal hate and vindictiveness of Jefferson Davis and Judah P. Benjamin. Thus Arkansas was cut off from all chance of protection, if hope there-of she ever had. And thus stands the case to-day.

This gentleman has proven himself totally unsuited to the emergency. With the whole cotton crop and wealth of the South at his disposal, and the friendship of many European Powers, he has accomplished nothing abroad. His foreign policy has been a stupid failure. He has permitted himself to be over-reached and out-managed in every thing. His policy at home, while proving him to be strong in some respects, has shown him to be weak, mean, and malignant in others. He is cold, selfish, and supremely ambitious, and, under the cover of outward sanctity and patriotism, flows concealed the strongest vein of hypocrisy and demagogism.

He has never been up to the magnitude of the undertaking. He refused troops for the war in May, A.D. 1861, because he did not "know that they would be needed." His idea at first seems to have been that hostilities would soon cease, and he bent his energies for a cheap war. His preparations and outfit were accordingly contracted and parsimonious. Awakened to a sense of his error, his next aim seems to have been to conquer his foes and put down every man that had crossed his pathway in life. The latter succeeded at all events. Instances of this are numerous; but that of Senator Brown—the peer of Mr. Davis in every thing, his superior in many, and his rival and successful competitor for the United States Senate—is pointed. He joined a company in Da-

vis' army, and was elected captain. He had capacity for any position. Yet Mr. Davis, not looking to the public interest, but to the gratification of his own private feelings, sees this opportunity to strike an old rival, and embraces it. He refused him all promotion, and left him the alternative of wearing himself out as captain of a company, or seeking position elsewhere. Mr. Brown's election to the Confederate Senate terminated the matter.

He drove General Gustavus W. Smith from the army. He was once ready to remove Stonewall Jackson, and only the success of the latter, backed by a powerful and excited party, prevented it. He over-slaughed and oppressed Beauregard because he let the people know that he desired to move on Washington, at once, after the first Manassas fight, and was prevented by Davis. He drove General Walker, of Georgia, out of the service. He retained Hindman, in Arkansas, with a positive knowledge of his outrages. He removed him but to endorse his acts. He retains Holmes here, to gratify the Johnsons, at the ruin of our people. He has pursued and oppressed General Price, because, I suppose, the latter was made a brigadier in Mexico, and Davis was not. He retained Pemberton in command against the wishes of the army and the country, and, to add insult to it all, sends him to Mobile to take command, where he is execrated by every man, woman, and child. By a trick and a swindle he got General J. E. Johnston away from his command in Virginia, and gave him no other definite position until there was a pressing emergency, and a chance to damage him—thereby showing both his want of confidence in him and his malignity towards him. He drove General Pike out of the army to gratify Hindman and the Johnsons, and thereby lost to us the whole Indian country, and, if the war continues, will place the tomahawk and scalping knife at the throats of our women and children. He retains a weak and inefficient cabinet, and never calls them in council, that he may reign as sole despot over our people. He has had at his disposal physical force enough to carry out acts the most arbitrary and oppressive. He has used that force. He has shown his selfishness and disregard for the interest of the people by his appointment of Heath, Van Dorn, Dick Taylor, Davis, and Mansfield Lovell—all relatives of his, and all alike incompetent. He has alienated the people of Georgia—so much so, that were the Confederacy acknowledged to-day, Georgia

would not remain two years under him. I heard a Confederate General of great prominence, who understands the feeling in that State, so declare. And, as significant of this, Governor Brown, of Georgia, gave to General G. W. Smith, meanly and spitefully driven out of the army by Davis, the presidency of the Etowah iron works, with a salary larger than that of his salary as Lieutenant-General. He falsified all his promises to Kentucky, and took General Humphrey Marshall's command away from him, turning it over to his old political rival, General Preston, to gratify the partisan requirements of Kentucky citizens who had suddenly risen from the obscure position of pork packers to that of Senators and Representatives in the Confederate Congress, and jugglers in that political Sodom. In a word, he has enriched and honored his friends, ruined and impoverished his enemies. Has given over the people, those of Arkansas especially, to plunder and oppression by his favorites, and in no instance punished the offender. I admit that in some things he looms up above other men; but he has so many defects and weaknesses beneath others, that it reduces him to a very poor second-rate character. And you can never change him. His life has been warped by political intrigue. His prejudices have been narrowed and his hates embittered by years of partisan strife. And you had as well take the oak which has been bent while a twig and beat upon by the storms of centuries, when its boughs are falling off and its trunk decaying, and attempt to straighten it up toward Heaven, as to attempt the straightening of a character so warped and bent by years of political storm and intrigue.

What shall we do? This question naturally comes up after all that has preceded. If Mr. Davis, when he held the lives and fortunes of many millions in his hands, so blundered as to lose his opportunity, what can we hope from him now that a scene of blackness, of anguish and desolation reigns where wealth, happiness, and plenty smiled? If he would not protect Arkansas when he could, but, instead, gave it over to oppression and plunder by his pets, what have we to hope now that he trembles in Richmond for his own safety, and wakes up at last to the terrible reality of his folly, weakness, and indiscretion? If we were not protected when we could have been, and if we can not now be protected, what must we do? Some say continue the struggle. Let the last man die, etc.

I think differently. We ought to end the struggle and submit. But you say, it is humiliating. No more than to surrender when whipped. We have done that often—always where we could do no better. I have tried the experiment twice, and found it by no means foolish. Submission is but surrender. We are fairly beaten in the whole result, and should at once surrender the point.

If we don't get the happiness we enjoyed in the old government, we can get no more misery than we have felt under Jefferson Davis. But I look for peace there. We had it many years. Even while we are arrayed against it, I find that hostile forces in our midst give more protection to citizens than they had when Holmes and Hindman were here. It is true the Johnsons tell you that General Steele has imprisoned and oppressed people here. Not a word of truth in it. And they know it is all false. In a few months, when no more Confederate money can be invested, and nothing more made out of the people, they will sneak back and claim his protection.

But we are whipped—fairly beaten. Our armies are melting, and ruin approaches us. Will continuing this struggle help us? Every battle we might gain ought to wring tears from the hearts of Southern men! We are just that much weaker—that much nearer our final ruin. Anguish and sorrow and desolation meet us wherever we turn. The longer the struggle the more of it.

Don't let yourselves be deceived with the hope that the United States will abandon the struggle. They can never do it. They have toiled and spent too much to see the solution of the problem, and not foot up the figures. They scarcely feel the war at home. Their cities are more populous and thrifty to-day than ever. For every man who dies, or gets killed in battle, two emigrate to the country. Their villages and towns, their fields and country flourish as fresh as ever. They could sink their armies to-day, and raise new levies to crush us and not feel it.

How is it with us? The last man is in the field. Half our territory overrun. Our cities gone to wreck, peopled alone by the aged, the lame and halt, and women and children; while deserted towns, and smoking ruins, and plantations abandoned and laid waste, meet us on all sides, and anarchy and ruin, disappointment and discontent lower over all the land.



You rely upon foreign intervention. Alas, and alas! How many lives, hopes, and fortunes have been buried under this fatal delusion! It has held us on to a hopeless struggle while the belt of desolation has girdled us closer, and the sea of anguish and sorrow risen higher, flushed with the tears of ruined and bereaved ones. France will not interfere. Louis Napoleon has at heart the building of the transit route connecting the two oceans. If he can keep up this struggle until that is accomplished, the star of England's ascendancy on the ocean goes out before him, and the whole commercial world becomes subsidiary to him. To keep up this struggle he will delude us continually with false hopes, recking nothing how much we bleed and suffer. I even suspect the pretended loans to us in France rest upon a policy of this sort, and that he is at the bottom of it.

But if Louis Napoleon does propose to interfere and take us under his "protection," what then? Another Maximilian for us—for Americans! "Forbid it my countrymen! Forbid it heaven!" Our fathers threw off colonial dependence upon a European crowned head! It would be ignominious in us to go back a half century and more to accept what they freed us from. Much less to risk a despot over us. So eager are some of our leaders for this interference that I am told it is proposed to give Napoleon Texas as a bonus for his good graces and his kindly aid! And the "Lone Star" may be handed over by Davis at any moment, so far as he can do it. The thought ought to make the blood of every American citizen mount to his cheek. Whenever this is attempted I shall be one to meet the legions of France, under the old flag, to battle for the sacredness and safety of republican institutions. But suppose he offers recognition alone? It is a barren offering. Suppose he offers it coupled with assistance? It comes too late. *Timeo Danaos munera ferentes!* No more dangerous and destructive alliance, in our prostrate condition, could be formed, however eagerly we might, at first, have grasped it. For, even if we should succeed with his aid—and the struggle would be as doubtful as terrible (and he would abandon us at any moment), the French empire of Mexico, right at our doors, would swallow up Cuba and all the contiguous islands, and absorb that part of Mexico that we, as a nation, would hope to get. And the day we settle deliberately a monarchy on this side of the ocean, we prepare

crowns for kings and fetters for the people on every foot of ground upon the American continent. But, as I said, there will be no interference.

Have no hopes from a divided North. It is on the surface—scarcely goes to the bottom of their politics, much less shaking the great masses of their determined people. Remember, too, that much of the South is with them. There is no division so far as fighting us is concerned. The mildest of them simply propose peace by reconstruction. That rejected, they are to press us with redoubled energy. Let us not, after all our misfortunes, construe the struggle between politicians for place into a sympathy for ourselves. But how could they propose peace? Who would bring the message? To whom would it be delivered? And should the proposition be made and rejected, we are that much worse off for it. We must propose peace, for we ought to know when we have got enough of the thing.

Do not rely upon splitting up our army, and adopting the Guerilla mode of warfare. It will contribute nothing to the general result and only entail more suffering. If practiced behind the Federal lines, it subdues our own people. It converts many of our soldiers into robbers and plunderers, and brings down, oftentimes, terrible retribution upon the heads of our citizens. What does the shooting of a few friends and foes on a railroad train amount to? And your own friends, as prisoners, going or returning, are on nearly all of them. In order to shoot a citizen or soldier opposed to you, you risk taking the life of a relative, a friend, or perhaps a brother soldier, who, having lingered long in prison, is returning with his sad heart full of home and loved ones.

And then to fire upon steamboats. It is dangerous to your friends—unmanly and unsoldierly in the extreme. Before a city is fired upon, it is the duty of the commanding officer to give his adversary reasonable notice to remove the women, children and non-combatants. Steamboats always have more or less of this class of people on board. A single shot may destroy a steamboat with all its passengers. How much stronger, then, the reason not to fire upon it until a like notice is served?

A few days since a Confederate officer was aboard a transport with his family. The boat was fired upon by guerillas. He stepped forward and entreated the party not to fire, that their

friends were on board. A ball entered his heart, and his widow and orphans are in the care of strangers. He was the only person touched.

On the boat that transported us were the wives, sisters, and mothers of Missouri soldiers, who had left home and country to join their husbands and relatives in the Southern army. How terrible was the thought which often occurred to me on our trip, that the ball of the guerilla, in the foolish hope of killing a foe, might go to the heart of his homeless wife, then throbbing with anxiety to be once more pressed to his manly bosom. And this is a constant danger. Not a boat but contains more or less of these people.

But this mode of warfare, while contributing nothing toward the general result, breaks up the peace of communities. It has never whipped an army; never retarded its progress; never cut off its supplies, nor interfered materially with its operations. It recoils upon us invariably. For instance, we fall back before the enemy. Our family is left in his lines. The country around them has been devastated. The United States authorities permit the bringing of supplies. We fire upon their transports. No more supplies come, and our families are left on the verge of starvation. This thing has occurred both in Tennessee and Arkansas. I implore all of our citizens within the Federal lines to remain at home and keep quiet. Let West Tennessee be a warning to you. Long since, that country would have been quiet and the people recovering from their losses, had it not been infested with guerillas, who, abandoning warfare, have plundered friend and foe, and kept life and property insecure. Indeed, a detailed account of their acts would be sickening and disgusting in the extreme. As the federal army advances through Arkansas let the sunlight of peace be behind it, however dark and threatening the cloud ahead. If we do not robbers and freebooters will take possession of our soil, and soon depopulate and convert it into a waste.

I am asked if Mr. Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation will stand. If you continue the struggle, certainly. He has the physical force at his disposal to carry it out. If you cease now, you may save all in your hands, or compromise on gradual emancipation. But let, I beseech you, the negro no longer stand in the way of the happiness and safety of friends and kindred.

The changes of sentiment upon this question in the South have been curious. Not many years since it was by no means unusual for the press and public men, as well as for the people generally in the South, to concede that slavery was an evil, and regret that it should ever have existed; expressing, however, no disposition or desire to be rid of it. Yet, a few years more—the demand for cotton having increased, the price of negroes having advanced, and the agitation of the slavery question having increased in virulence—finds us defending slavery as a divine institution. *DeBow's Review*, and other Southern papers and periodicals, with Senator Hammond, of South Carolina, were prominent in this defence. Their object was to educate the Southern mind to this belief. Such a course had become vital to the existence of slavery; because, to concede that negro slavery was morally wrong, was virtually to concede the whole argument to the Abolitionists. As the controversy warmed we became sensitive, and so morbidly so, that the North might have threatened with impunity to deprive us of horses, or other property—yet the whole South would be ablaze if some fanatic took one negro. Such was the public sentiment South at the commencement of this most unfortunate and bloody struggle. But revolutions shake up men's thoughts and put them in different channels. I have recently talked with Southern slaveholders from every State. They are tired of negro slavery, and believe they could make more clear money, and live more peaceably without than with it. As for the non-slaveholder of the South, I honestly thought the struggle was for him more than for his wealthy neighbor. That to free the negro would reduce to comparative slavery the poor white man. I now regret, that instead of a war to sustain slavery, it had not been a struggle at the ballot box to colonise it. This will clearly be the next struggle.

I am of opinion that, whether it is a divine institution or not, negro slavery has accomplished its mission here. A great mission it had. A new and fertile country had been discovered and must be made useful. The necessities of mankind pressed for its speedy development. Negro slavery was the instrument to effect this. It alone could open up the fertile and miasmatic regions of the South, solving the problem of their utility, which no theorist could have reached. It was the magician which suddenly revolu-

tionized the commerce of the world by the solution of this problem. It peopled and made opulent the barren hills of New England, and threw its powerful influence across the great North-west. Standing as a wall between the two sections, it caught and rolled northward the wealth and population of the Old World, and held in their places the restless adventurers of New England, or turned them along the great prairies and valleys of the West. Thus New England reached its climax, and the North-west was overgrown of its age, while the South, with its negro laborers, was sparsely settled and comparatively poor. Thus slavery had done its utmost for New England and the North-west, and was a weight upon the South. If, at this point, its disappearance could have clearly commenced, what untold suffering and sorrow might have been avoided.

Its existence had become incompatible with the existence of the Government. For, while it had stood as a wall, damming up the current and holding back the people and laborers of the North, it had, by thus precluding free intercourse between the sections, produced a marked change in their manners, customs, and sentiments, and the two sections were growing more divergent every day. This wall, or the Government—one must give way. The shock came which was to settle the question. I thought that the Government was divided, and negro slavery established forever. I erred. The Government was stronger than slavery. Re-union is certain, but not more certain than the downfall of slavery. As I have said, the mission of the latter is accomplished. And, as his happiness must always be subordinated to that of the white man, he must, ere long, depart on the foot-prints of the red man, whose mission being accomplished, is fast fading from our midst.

While I think the mission of the negro is accomplished here, I am clearly of the opinion that the time will come when civilization and learning shall light up the dark abodes of the four hundred million people in India, and when their wants and necessities will put the patient and hardy negro to toiling, and opening up the great valley of the fertile but miasmatic America. But such speculations are out of place here.

Let us, fellow citizens, endeavor to be calm. Let us look these new ideas and our novel position squarely in the face. We fought for negro slavery. We have lost. We may have to do without

it. The inconvenience will be great for a while—the loss heavy. This, however, is already well nigh accomplished. Yet behind this dark cloud is a silver lining, if not for us, at least for our children. In the place of these bondsmen will come an immense influx of people from all parts of the world, bringing with them their wealth, arts, and improvements, and lending their talents and sinews to increase our aggregate wealth. Thrift, and trade, and a common destiny will bind us together. Machinery in the hills of Arkansas will reverberate to the music of machinery in New England, and the whirl of Georgia spindles will meet responsive echoes upon the slopes of the far off Pacific. Protective tariffs, if needed, will stretch in their influence from the Lakes to the Gulf, and from ocean to ocean, bearing alike, at last, equally upon Arkansian and Vermonter, and upon Georgian and Californian. Differences of section and sentiment will wear away and be forgotten, and the next generation be more homogeneous and united than any since the days of the Revolution. And the descendants of these bloody times will read, with as much pride and as little jealousy, of these battles of their fathers, as the English and Scotch descendants of the heroes of Flodden Field read of their ancestral achievements in the glowing lines of Scott, or, as the descendants of Highland and Lowland chiefs, allusions to their fathers' conflicts in the simple strains of the rustic Burns.

Let us live in hope, my grief-stricken brothers, that the day is not far distant when Arkansas will rise from the ashes of her desolation, to start on a path of higher destiny, than, with negro slavery, she ever could have reached; while the reunited Government, freed from this cankering sore, will be more vigorous and powerful, and more thrifty, opulent and happy, than though the scourge of war had never desolated her fields, or made sorrowful her hearthstones!

The sooner we lay down our arms and quit this hopeless struggle, the sooner our days of prosperity will return.

I hesitated long, my fellow citizens, before I determined to issue this address. I dislike to be abused and slandered. But, more than all, dislike to live under a cloud with those friends who have not yet reached my stand-point—and, besides, all I possess is in the Confederate lines. Their leaders will deprive my family of slaves, home, property, debts due me—in a word, reduce them from

competence and ease to penury. Aside from what I have inside the Confederate lines, I could not pay for the paper this address is written upon. But it may all go. Did I desire future promotion, and could bring my conscience to it, I would do like the Johnsons; safe from bullets and hardships themselves, they assist in holding you on to this hopeless and ruinous struggle, and at the end of the conflict will come back and say:—"I staid with you to the last!" "Honor me and mine." God deliver me from such traitors to humanity and to the interests of our bleeding people! To me the path of duty is plain. It is to lend my feeble aid to stop this useless effusion of blood. And though it beggars my family, and leaves me no ray of hope for the future, I shall follow it.

I have witnessed the desolation of the Southern States from one end to the other. This hopeless struggle but widens it. Each day makes new graves, new orphans, and new mourners. Each hour flings into this dreadful whirlpool more of wretched hopes, broken fortunes, and anguished hearts. The rich have mostly fallen. The poor have drunk deep of the cup of sorrow, while surely, and not slowly, the tide of ruin, in its resistless surge, sweeps toward the middle classes. A few more campaigns and they will form part of the general wreck. Each grave and each tear, each wasted fortune and broken heart, puts us that much further off from the object of the struggle, and that much further off from peace and happiness.

Viewing it thus, the terrible question was presented to me, as to whether I should continue my lot in an enterprise so fruitless and so full of woe, and help hold the masses of the people on to this terrible despotism of Davis, where only ruin awaits them; or whether I should be a quiet observer of it all; or, lastly, whether I should assist in saving the remnant of you from the wreck.

I have chosen the latter. I shall send this address to every hill and corner of the State, to the citizen and soldier—at home or in prison, and shall send with it my prayers, to Almighty God, to arrest them in their pathway of blood and ruin. Why trust Davis longer. Had he twice our present resources, he would still fail. With success he would be a despot. But the whole thing is tumbling to pieces. Soldiers are leaving disgusted and disheartened, and whole States have gone back to their homes in the national galaxy; Maryland and Delaware will never again be shaken. Ken.

tucky has intrenched herself in the Union behind a wall of bayonets in the hands of her own sturdy sons. Missouri is as firmly set in the national galaxy as Massachusetts. Tennessee, tempest-tossed and bolt riven, under the guidance of her great pilot, steers for her old mooring, and will be safely anchored before the leaves fall; while the rays of light from the old North State, flashing out fitfully from her darkness across the troubled waves, show that she stirs, is not lost, but is struggling to rejoin her sisters. None of these States will ever join the South again. Then, with crippled armies, with devastated fields—with desolate cities, with disheartened soldiers, and, worse than all, with weak and corrupt leaders, what hope is left to the few remaining States, but especially to poor, oppressed, and down-trodden Arkansas? None! Better get our brothers home while they are left to us. Open the way for the return of husbands, fathers and sons, and bind up the broken links of the old Union. The people must act to do this. I tell you now, in grief and pain, that the leaders don't care for your blood. Your sufferings move them not. The tears and wails of your anguished and bereaved ones fall on hearts of flint. While they can make a dollar, or wear an epaulet, they are content. Finally, with a grief-stricken and sorrowful heart, I implore mothers, sisters, wives, and daughters, to assist, by all their arts, in saving their loved ones from this terrible scourge, ere ruin overtakes you and them irretrievably. While God gives me strength, daunted by no peril, and swerved by no consideration of self, I shall give you my feeble aid.

To break the force of these utterances, honestly, patriotically and sorrowfully made, the Johnsons and certain reptiles who crawl around Little Rock, under Federal protection, together with all other like men, who, from their own innate corruption, are not able to appreciate pure motives in others, will tell you that a desire to go to Congress has influenced my conduct. Do they suppose that I would lose the last dollar I have, and subject myself to their slander and abuse for the chance of running for an office when peace is made? Does not my refusing, upon principle, to take my seat in Congress in 1860, after a triumphant election, in which I carried twenty-two out of twenty-eight counties, show them what little value I set upon such a bauble? But I will stop their mouths by the solemn assurance that there are not people



enough on the continent to induce me to go to Congress. I am, sick, tired and disgusted with public life? Peace? peace, and the safety of what is left of our noble and suffering people, is my only ambition! We must bear in mind, too, as we go along, that in conceding the chance of a "Congress," they acknowledge the failure of the Confederate cause.

The shortest way, in my opinion, to resume our relations with the Federal government, is to instruct Hon. W. K. Sebastian to take his seat in the United States Senate. It is by all means desirable that such instructions be so clear that the United States Government may be at no loss to see that our people are loyal, and that Mr. Sebastian may have but one course of conduct left. I feel sure that he will respond favorably to your wishes.

Whenever it can be done, meetings should be held promptly, instructing him to resume his seat in the Senate. Where it can not be done, or where citizens can not attend meetings, let them get up petitions to that effect. The proceedings of such meetings, and the petitions, if sent to me, at this place, will receive prompt attention. We should do all this before the meeting of Congress in December. We will have trade open, and get all the other benefits of a government that much sooner.

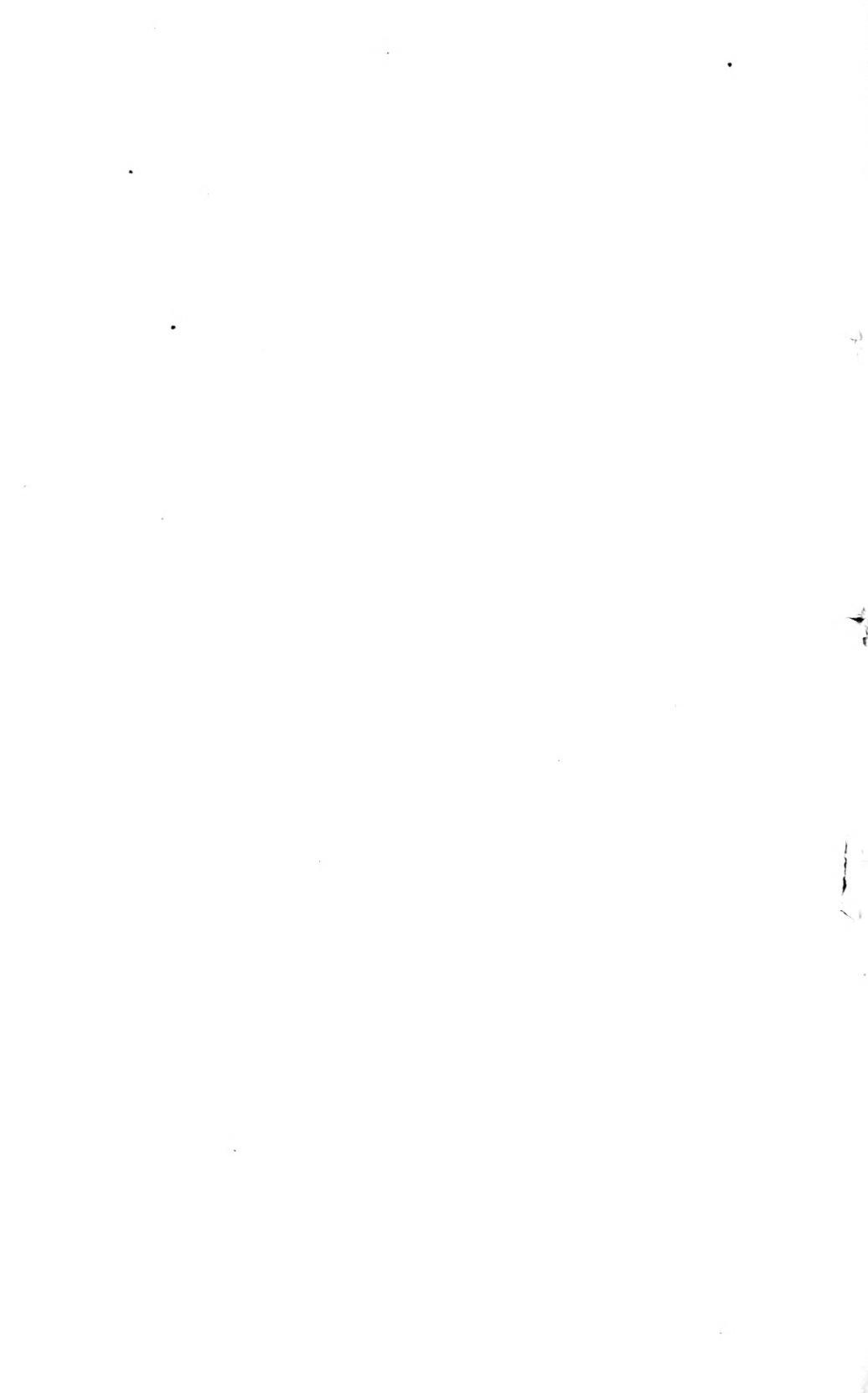
I must publicly acknowledge, here, my regret for the strong terms of disapprobation I used toward that distinguished gentleman, Hon. W. K. Sebastian, for his refusal to join us in this struggle.

To those who differed from me in the commencement of this rebellion—the extent and bloodiness of which no mortal could foresee—I must say, that developments show that you were right and I wrong. But let bygones be forgotten, and let us all unite to bring about peace, and to lure our lost Pleiad from her wanderings, that she may again sparkle in our nation's coronet of stars.

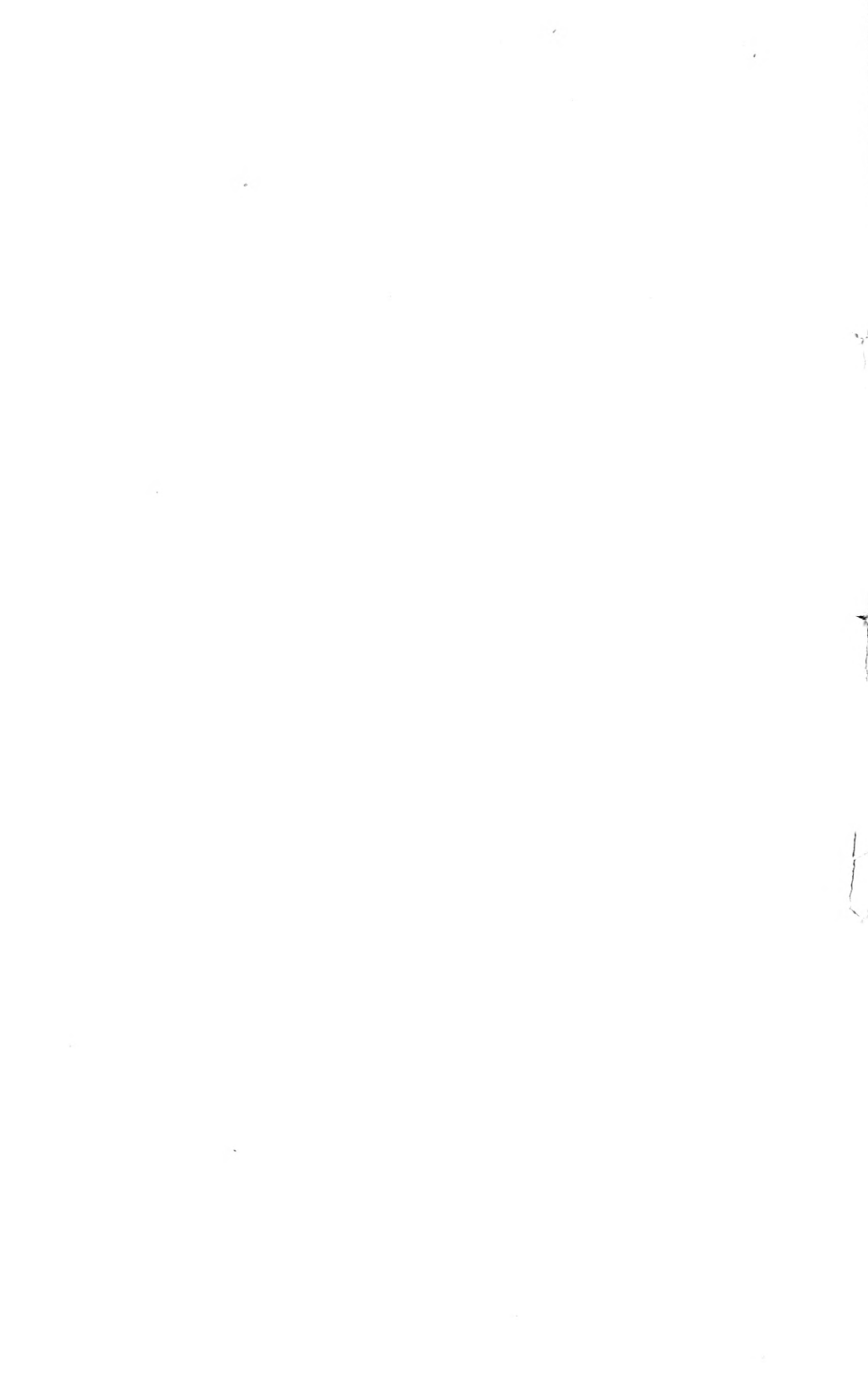
Your fellow citizen,

E. W. GANTT.

LITTLE ROCK, October 7, 1863.







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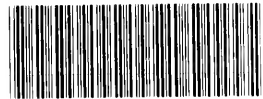
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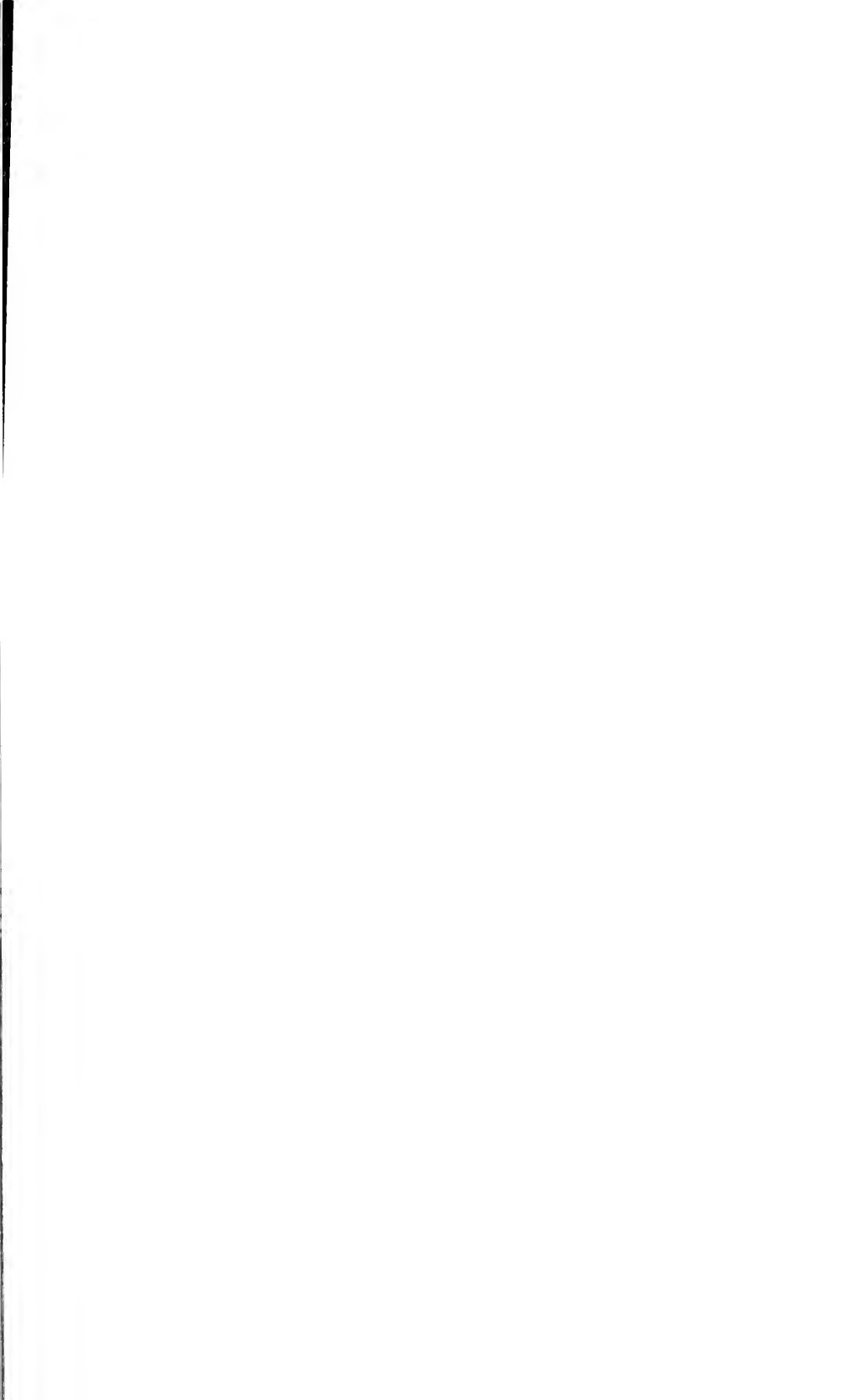
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- No. 1. Future of the North-West. *By Robert Dale Owen.*
2. Echo from the Army.
3. Union Mass Meetings. *Speeches of Brady, Van Buren, etc.*
4. Three Voices: the Soldier, Farmer, and Poet.
5. Voices from the Army.
6. Northern True Men.
7. Speech of Major-General Butler.
8. Separation; War without End. *Ed. Laboulaye.*
9. The Venom and the Antidote.
10. A Few Words in Behalf of the Loyal Women of the United States. *By One of Themselves.*
11. No Failure for the North. *Atlantic Monthly.*
12. Address to King Cotton. *Eugene Pelletan.*
13. How a Free People Conduct a Long War. *Stillé.*
14. The Preservation of the Union a National Economic Necessity.
15. Elements of Discord in Secession, etc.
16. No Party now, but all for our Country. *Francis Lieber.*
17. The Cause of the War. *Col. Charles Anderson.*
18. Opinions of the early Presidents and of the Fathers of the Republic upon Slavery, and upon Negroes as Men and Soldiers.
19. Einbeit und Freiheit, von Hermann Rafter.
20. Military Despotism! Suspension of the Habeas Corpus! etc.
21. Letter addressed to the Opera-House Meeting, Cincinnati. *By Col. Charles Anderson.*
22. Emancipation is Peace. *By Robert Dale Owen.*
23. Letter of Peter Cooper on Slave Emancipation.
24. Patriotism. Sermon by *Rev. Jos. Fransoli*, of St. Peter's (Catholic) Church, Brooklyn.
25. The Conditions of Reconstruction. *By Robert Dale Owen.*
26. Letter to the President. *By Gen. A. J. Hamilton*, of Texas.
27. Nullification and Compromise: a Retrospective View.
28. The Death of Slavery. Letter from Peter Cooper to Gov. Seymour.
29. Slavery Plantations and the Yeomanry. *By Francis Lieber.*
30. Rebel Conditions of Peace.
31. Address of the Loyal Leagues of the State of New York.
32. War Powers of the President. *By J. Hermann.*
33. The Two Ways of Treason.
34. Monroe Doctrine. *By Edward Everett.* Letter from John Quincy Adams. Extract from Speech of George Canning.
35. The Arguments of Secessionists.
36. Prophecy and Fulfillment. Letter of A. H. Stephens. Address of E. W. Gantt.

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